For
A
NEW DEMOCRACY

Organ
of the

PROVISIONAL CENTRAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
(Marxist-Leninist)
Editor-in-chief :-**Satyanarain Singh**

Vol-1. no. 3 May-1978

C-48706

For A New Democracy

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EDITORIAL

May-Day Call

THIS year's May day is being celebrated at a time when a year has elapsed since the Janata Party's coming to power at the Centre During this one year the economic crisis of the country has further aggravated and the ruling classes are trying their best to throw the burden of crisis on the working class The Janata Govt. has miserably failed in implementing their election promises. They have done nothing to improve the living condition of the people, they have done nothing to end the exploitation of U S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism over our people, done nothing against the Tatas and the Birlas and the feudal landlords in the country side.

As a result the workers are losing their jobs and unemployment is on the increase, factories are being closed and the real wages of workers are going down due to rise in prices of essential commodities. Naturally, the workers are agitating everywhere against the policy of the bourgeoisie to throw the entire burden of crisis upon them Wherever they are putting up resistance against the capitalists, they are facing brutal suppresssion including shooting down of workers We have seen it at Rajhara, Kanpur, Bokaro, Pimpri, Gaziabad, Bailadila and Pantnagar As the economic crisis is deepening, we are going to witness more of such incidents.

We want to point out that the working class movement, though gaining momentum day by day, still lacks in solidarity action against the attack of the ruling classes It is a sorry state of affairs that, thanks to the manoeuvring of the revisionists and neo-revisionists, when the workers in U P are shot down, the workers in W.

Bengal lie low. The working class must rise up to end such a state of affairs The working class must realise that they are the leaders of the revolution and it is they who can lead a struggle against the come back of fascism The Indira regime launched fascist attacks on workers and peasants first and then extended her target of attack to other classes including a section of the ruling classes. To day, the Janata Govt is following the Congress road and has started fascist attack on the workers It is the sacred duty of the workers to rise up in solidarity action against the shooting down of workers at any place in the country It is only in this way that the working class can build up its militant unity and resist the fascist attack, not only upon themselves, but against the entire nation.

Both the international and national situation are fine. The struggle of the world people against the two super powers is marching forward with great strides. In the national situation, the ruling classes are in the doldrums, they are getting divided day by day The working class must seize the opportunity, must build up its class unity through solidarity mass actions and lead the whole country on the path of new democratic revolution.

Ashim Chatterjee Must Answer Some Basic Questions

AN OBSERVER

SINCE Ashim Chatterjee has been released from jail, he has been carrying on a whisper campaign against the C P I (M L) and calling it "disruptionist." In a press interview at Siliguri where Jangal Santhal and Keshav Sirkar were also present with him, he upheld the C. P I. (M)'s conception of "Left and Democratic Front" and accused our party as a disrupter of the

nity of Left and democratic forces. There is nothing new in his accusations, as every one knows that in the last assembly elections West Bengal, Ashim Chatterjee and his mentors openly called r the defeat of the C. P. I. (M-L) candidates, including Com. ntosh Rana, and lent their support, for all it was worth, to the . P. I. (M). The excuse at that time, too, was that the C. P. I. M-L) was "disrupting" the unity of the Left and democratic rces by setting up candidates. Apart from condemning the C. I. (M-L) he has also declared that he will form a new party ion. We are not surprised at his reiterating the old slanders ow that he is out. During the last three years, he has changed his olitical and organisational line so frequently and so many times, at we have lost count of them.

At one time, he wrote in the "Frontier" that in order to unite all e communist revolutionaries, the C. P. I. (M-L) factions must ite first on the basis of the documents of the 8th Congress. ow he thinks that the C. P. I. (M-L) was from the very incepn a terrorist and conspiratorial party and not a Marxist-eninist Party and that a new party has to be formed. In the name reviewing the history of the C. P. I. (M-L), he is throwing the by out with the bath water. While it is true that the C.P.I. (M-L) mmitted some grave "Left" opportunist mistakes, it is only eap slander to claim that the C. P. I. (M-L)'s history has been a story only of mistakes and deviations. It is outrageous to maintain at from the very inception, the C. P. I. (M-L), whose formation as announced by Kanu Sanyal in May 1969, was a terrorist and nspiratorial party. Which terrorist movement in the world uld claim to have built up such vast areas of mass peasant movent as Naxalbari, Birbhum, Gopiballavpur, Mushahari, Srikulam and Godavari valley ?

Which terrorist movement could claim that 30,000 of its mems and supporters have undergone imprisonment at any stage its history ? Which terrorist movement could claim that 00 of its members and sympathisers were killed during such a rt span of time by a fascist regime ? Terrorist and conspira-

torial organisations do not and cannot possess such a wide mas base as the C. P I (M L) possessed and still possesses

It is true that our Party at a certain stage of its history com mitted "Left" opportunist mistakes and had to suffer a seriou setback. But, why should the Party be wound up or liquidate for committing mistakes ? Is there any Communist party in th world which has not committed grave mistakes ? The C. P C lost hundred per cent of its urban base and ninety percent of it rural base owing to "Left" opportunist deviation, but no communis in China called for its dissolution or liquidation or called for settin up a new party. The P K I (Indonesian Communist party) go smashed three times in its history, but no one even thought o liquidating it and setting up a new party History of the inter national communist movement proves that communist partie achieve a correct line in course of committing mistakes and re ctifying them There are no pure and no infallible parties in th world and there will be none in future too. Moreover, by callin the C. P I (M L) a terrorist and conspiratorial party from th very beginning and by calling it disruptionist now, Ashim Chatterje is disowning the great ideological struggle that was waged b Marxist Leninists against the neo revisionism of the C. P I (M he is disowning the revolutionary peasant struggle waged by th Naxalbari peasantry for land, he is disowning the rebellion of th revolutionary cadres against the neo revisionist leadership of th C P I (M) and he is disowning the departure of the Marxis Leninists from the neo revisionists in 1967 Disowning the C P I (M L) and throwing it off as a bad and heavy "baggage" is nothin but giving up revolutionary politics cqmpletely and finally

However, if Ashim Chatterjee and his mentors are not pro ud of the revolutionary heritage and traditions of the C P (M L) and if they are so much ashamed of their parent organis tion, which brought Marxism Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought t India, they are free to pursue their choice and form a new part But why indulge in abuses and slanders against us ? Are suc antics necessary for forming a new party ?

We also don't bother when he calls us disruptionists or even raitors. But what worries us and most of the revolutionary cadres i Ashim Chatterjee's calculated silence on some basic and vital uestions of ideology and politics. For example, he has not made it lear whether he still upholds the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought ! He has not uttered a word as to whether e still believes that Socialist China is the base of world revolution nd to defend it is the international duty of the world proletariat. Ie has not stated whether he upholds Com. Mao Tse-tung's theory f Three Worlds or not. He has not cared to tell the revolutionary adres whether he still considers the Soviet state as a social-imperiast state, and one of the two greatest exploiters of our times. He has ept mum over the question of the path of the Indian revolution. Does he still believe in the path of people's war ? He has also not ared to tell us whether he still considers the C. P. I. (M) as a neoevisionist party, a party which, politically, has to be isolated and efeated ! Will he tell us whether the C. P. I. (M) is the greater evil or Indian revolution or C. P. I. (M-L) ? It may be profitable for im and his mentors to keep silent over these basic issues, but evolutionary people want a catagorical answer to these ideologicalolitical questions. Ashim Chatterjee's praise for the "United eft front" led by C. P. I. (M), his outright condemnation of he C. P. I. (M-L) and his call for setting up a new party inicate that his basic ideological line has undergone a complete hange. He has taken a 180° right about turn and now egards C. P. I. (M) as a party of revolutionary Marxism. ut will he answer these questions ? Let us hope so. Let the ountry and the people know what stand this "new" party of shim Chatterjee will take in the struggle between Marxism and revionism on the international and national questions. The only thing iat appeared obvious to us is that Ashim Chatterjee and his ientors have opted for the role of a "Left and democratic" ally f the neo-revisionist C.P.I. (M) and the C.P.I. (M) would naturally eat them as a "Left and democratic force" in the "Naxalite" movelent. It is obvious that they have joined the anti-China gang and

change his basic ideology, but no one has the right to abuse oth for appeasement with neo revisionism It seems that some peo have been scared to such an extent that they have lost all sense proportion The revolutionary people and the cadres who reg CPI (M) as a neo revisionist outfit would put all these basic qu tions to the neo splitters in the revolutionary movement and prep themselves for a resolute struggle to defeat these prophets of gloo these architects of disruption and these protagonists and preache of demoralisation and degeneration They may cause some temp rary obstacles in some parts of West Bengal, but they will soon identified and rejected by the broad masses of the revolutiona people. They have already lost among the advanced section of th people, and subsequently they will be thrown out by the majority o the people. Revisionism in any form is the enemy of the proletari and all the toiling sections of the people, and its total defeat i the precondition for the complete victory of revolution Attack o C P I. (M L) is attack on Marxism Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought and at the same time it is an attack on proletarian internationalism Attack on C P I (M L) is support to revisionism and neo revisionism ; it is support to the puppets and allies of Sovie Social imperialism and it is disservice to the historic mission o the Indian proletariat.

The Marxist Leninists and the revolutionary people in Indi will smash all the manouevres of Soviet Social imperialism and its ally, the neo revisionist C P I (M) to disrupt and weaken the revolutionary forces in India and to weaken and divide the C P I (M L). The C P I (M) lobby in the Naxalite movement is only dashing its head against a stone wall , it is only lifting a big stone to drop it on its feet What awaits this lobby is a decisive defeat and an unceremonious burial at the hands of the revolutionary people

Report on West Bengal

Central Rally at Calcutta Maidan.

ON 22nd April, on the birth day of great Lenin and the anniversary of C P I (M L), a mass rally was organised at Shahid Minar Maidan, Calcutta The rally was attended by more than 50,000 people. Workers, peasants and students came in procession from distant districts with the red banner of C.P I (M L) and red flags By 11 a m ·Calcutta Maidan was filled with peasants from distant districts. A major section of the people who attended the meeting were landless and poor peasants

The meeting started at 4 p m. with a tribute to the martyrs. Com. Sadhan Sarkar proposed the name of Com. Khokan Mazumdar as President and Com Kaushik Banerjee seconded it. Com. Subrata Bal of Tripura, who has recently been released from a Bangladesh jail after long detention, read a resolution demanding the total and unconditional release of all political prisoners. Com. K. D. Sethi of Jammu & Kashmir spoke on the civil liberty issue. He spoke in Urdu but the people appreciated his spirit Com M. Narayan Swami of Andhra Pradesh condemned the brutal repression on workers and peasants in different parts of the country like Kanpur, Bokaro, Belchi, Gaziabad, Hyderabad and Tamil Nad, and called upon the people to resist the repression committed by Congress and Janata Governments. Com Bhaskar Nandy, Secretary of Assam State Committee, spoke on the centre state relation He demanded more power to the states but criticised the way the CPM. leadership was substituting this slogan for class struggle Com. Santosh Rana tabled a resolution on unity which was supported by Com Kaushik Banerjee Com Kaushik severely criticised those people who were trying to build an unholy alliance with C P M.

leadership in order to liquidate C.P I (M L) In this connrexion, he named Asim Chatterjee. Com Gurubax Singh, Com Baldev Singh and Com. Sunil Dighe greeted the rally and called upon the people to launch revolutionary struggle in order to overthrow the regime of imperialism, social imperialism, comprador bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism from India Com Ram Pratap Chandil, MLA of Himachal Pradesh, announced his decision to join the Party The main speaker at the rally was Com Satyanarayan Singh, General Secretary of C P.I. (M L). He started his speech by greeting the revolutionary people of West Bengal, who gave birth to Naxalbari and many other revolutionary struggles. The armed peasant uprising at Naxalbari took place at a time when the Khruschov revisionists and their Indian lackeys were trying to put out the light of Marxism Leninism from Indian soil, and the spring thunder of Naxalbari was a mighty blow against revisionism, he said It showed the path of emancipation of the Indian people, the path of protracted people's war, and cleared the way to build the revolutionary party of Marxism Leninism, the C P I (M L) The formation of C P. I. (M L), nine years back was the result of struggle against the revisionists. He described the Party history as a history of heroic struggle against the fascist repression launched by the Indira regime, who killed thousands of our leaders, cadres and sympathisers and tried to liquidate the Party physically Is there any other party or movement in India which has withstood such severe repression for so long, he asked ? He analysed the mistakes committed by the Party and said that the line of annihilation of class enemies was wrong because it fails to arouse and mobilise the people for revolution. But the C P I (M L) never went against the workers and peasants, it never killed peasants as was done by the CPM leadership at Naxalbari. This distinction must be made, he asserted, and declared "we have committed MISTAKES, NOT TREACHERY "

He criticised the hypocritical slogan of Left and democratic front raised by CPI and CPM and said that they have raised this slogan only to cover up the exploitation of Soviet Social imperialism in India. He said that all forces opposed to U. S imperialism

and Social imperialism should unite in building up a patriotic and democratic front to oppose the hegemonism of the two super powers in India. He explained the Party programme and called upon the people to overthrow the rule of four mountains from India.

Com. Santosh Rana criticised the CPM leadership for their disruptive activities. They are not only refusing any unity with our Party, but are setting up candidates against their Left Front partners in the Panchayat elections, he said He warned people against the come back of Indira fascism and asked all the left forces in West Bengal to join hands in fighting the fascist forces

Com Khokan Mazumdar, one of the leaders of the Naxalbari peasant uprising criticised in his presidential address people like Kanu Sanyal who were once leaders of the Party but were now denouncing it and demanding its liquidation They are having adjustments with CPM but they do not want even a talk with CPI (M L) Liquidation of C P I (M L) means the liquidation of Naxalbari, he categorically declared and asked all revolutionaries to unite under the red banner of Marxism Leninism Mao Tse tung Thought raised by CPI (M L)

Some disruptionists tried to disrupt the meeting but the volunteers and the people foiled their vile attempt

After the meeting was over, torch light processions were led in different directions.

Jotedar CPM attack on peasant leader

In Midnapur district Keshiary thana, Com Maheswar Singh, a well known peasant leader of the thana, was attacked on 30th March by a gang consisting of Jotedars and CPM activists, armed with guns and other lethal weapons Com Maheswar Singh was seriously injured But the officer in charge of Keshiary P S refused to enter any F I R. from Com Maheswar Singh

Establishment of night schools

The activists of peasant movement have taken up a campaign

to eradicate illiteracy from among the peasants The government is not giving any sort of help The peasants themselves have taken up the issue and have organised many night schools in Jhargram sub division

Political Prisoner dies in jail custody

Com Durga Baskey, a political prisoner lodged in Berhampur special jail, died in jail custody due to lack of medical treatment Berhampur special jail is a notorious jail set up by the previous Congress regime, where political prisoners from different districts are kept in complete segregation During the Congress regime there were many mass movements to demand the closure of Berhampur special jail and to-day's ruling parties demanded it then But even after eight months of their coming to power they have not closed down Berhampur special jail, rather they perpetuate torture on political prisoners in that notorious jail, as a result of which Com Durga Baskey died Com Santosh Rana had drawn the attention of the W B assembly to save the life of Com Durga Baskey, but the government did not take any step and the prisoner died

Jayashri Chemicals An attack upon the workers by Birla C I T U combine

The workers of Jayashri Chemicals at Khardah are on strike for last seven months In the last week of February the Birla management hatched an agreement with a fictitious C I T U union formed for this sole purpose and the next day a gang formed by Birla and C I T U in combination attacked the striking employees in order to break the strike The police also helped the gang Despite their attack, the workers are still on strike and their spirits high

Struggle by brick kiln workers in Hooghly

Nearly 15,000 workers launched a strike struggle in Hooghly district to press their just demands for wages and other facilities The struggle ended in victory The owners tried to break the strike

by attack with hired goondas but their attempt failed Among the goondas hired for the purpose were two persons whom the local CPM MLA claimed as CPM activists

Panchayet Elections in West Bengal

Panchayet elections are going to be held in W Bengal on 4th June, 1978 Our Party is contesting in the Panchayet elections in the districts of Midnapore, Birbhum Darjeeling Jalpaiguri Cooch bihar Burdwan Nadia 24 Parganas, Bankura Purulia Murshidabad and Hooghly We wanted an adjustment with Left parties with an aim to liquidate the Congress but the CPM leadership is arrogantly refusing any adjustment with us Moreover, they are setting up candidates against their Left Front partners at many places and many of their candidates are ex Congressmen and jotedars

Jalianwalabagh Day Observed at Durgapur

On 13th April, 1978, a mass rally was held at the steel town of Durgapur to observe the Jalianwalabagh Day Speakers from different parts of the country included Sri Bhakti Bhushan Mandal, President of the meeting, Sri R Shankarnarayan of Tamil Nad, Dr Bijoy Basu of West Bengal and Com Santosh Rana The speakers severely condemned the two super powers for their plunder of the Indian people and called upon the patriotic people of India to carry forward the heroic national traditions and fight to the last to end all forces of colonial exploitation on the Indian people They also criticised the killing of workers and peasants at Kanpur, Bokaro, Gaziabad, Pimpri, Belchi and other places

On April 14, a conference was held and a permanent committee to observe Jalianwalabagh Day was set up

Bandh in protest of Pantnagar Killing

On April 24, the students and employees of Calcutta Universi

observed a bardh in protest against the killing of agricultural labourers at Pantnagar The call of bandh was given by Chhatra Aikya Committe and other student organisations

Demonstration for the release of Political Prisoners

On 4th April last, mammoth demonstrations were held in different districts at the call of W B State Organising Committee, C P I (M L) in order to press the demands for immediate release of all political prisoners' and 'immediate release and extradition of Indian prisoners locked in foreign jails' The demonstrations also raised protest against the recent police atrocities upon the workers and peasants struggling for their demands in various parts of the country Rajhara, Kanpur and Bokaro police firings were strongly condemned in the rallies and the Janata Govt was scathingly criticised for perpetrating these ugly acts

Midnapur About 1000 peasants and other sections of the people demonstrated before the office of the District Magistrate Although he refused at first, the D M had to agree to meet the demonstrators later and accept the memorandum The assembled peasants strongly condemned the combined assault on the peasant leader, Com Maheswar Singh, by the jotedar and C P M leadership in Keshiari thana area and lashed the police inaction The rally was led by Comrades Mihir Rana, Leba Tudu and Prithwiranjan Dasgupta

Press Statement

Calcutta 1 4 78

THE Polit Bureau of the CPI (M L) has decided to contest the Samastipur Lok Sabha constituency in Bihar with Umadhar Singh as its candidate This by election has been necessitated

owing to the resignation of Mr Karpoori Thakur who has become the Chief Minister of Bihar

The CPI (M L) would be opposing the candidates of Congress (I), Congress (R) and the Janata Party in this constituency of North Bihar

The CPI (M L) had supported Mr Karpoori Thakur in the last election with the expectation that the Janata party would redeem its pledges to restore fully the democratic rights to all sections of people and unconditionally release all the political prisoners including Naxalites' The people had also expected that the Janata would inaugurate a new chapter and make a clean break from the reactionary politics of the Congress regime

However, the record of the Janata Party Govt at the Centre as well as in Bihar irrefutably proves that instead of charting out a new path of advance, they have been journeying on the same discredited road followed by the Congress regime for the last 3 decades

The Karpoori Ministry has kept over 400 "Naxalite" prisoners, the largest number in India in jails and has stubbornly refused to release them despite exhortations by veteran leaders like Jaya prakash Narayan, Acharya Kripalanee and Krishna Kant, M P

Instead of implementing the land ceilings and distributing land to th tillers, th Karpoori Ministry, like its predecessor Congress regime, has cowed down to the dictates of landlords and has been mercilessly suppressing the landless and poor peasants Instead of conceding the just demands of the working-class, the Janata Raj is acting as the sapper and miner of monopolists and capitalists in suppressing their just struggles

Instead of solving the problems of mounting unemployment, rising prices, and growing poverty, it was consciously engineering caste riots to direct the attention of the people away from its utter incompetence Following in the footsteps of the erstwhile Congress regime, the Karpoori Ministry was pitting poor against poor and brother against brother It had indulged in police firings on

workers, peasants and students 12 times during the last 9 months, a record in the country

The CPI (M L) would expose the reactionary nature of both the Congresses and the Janata Party and mobilise the people to reject them at the polls We will place the programme of Agrarian Revo lution before the people in this election and organise them for mass struggle to achieve it The Party would make the release of all political prisoners one of the main issues of its election campaign

The Polit Bureau wishes to make it clear to all the patriots and democrats to raise their mighty voice for the immediate release of all political prisoners in Bihar and ensure that a free and fair elec tion be held Without the immediate release of our party men, particularly those from the Samastipur Loksabha constituency, the elections will be a total farce

The Polit Bureau calls upon all the patriotic and democratic forces to rally around the CPI (M L) and ensure the victory of its candidate, Umadhar Singh, who has suffered inhuman tortures for 8 years in jail for serving the just and noble cause of the working class and p asantry and deliver a crushing defeat to both the Congresses and the Janata Party

Sd/ Satyanarayan Singh, Gen Secy,
Polit Bureau,
C P I (M L)

A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE POLIT BUREAU OF THE C P I (M L)

BY COMRADES VASKAR NANDI & SANTOSH RANA

The recent disclosures in the U S Congress regarding the nuclear spying device in the Himalayas once again allow the Indian people the opportunity to see the real character of th ruling classes beyond the signboards of 'indep ndence' and sovereignty flaunted by them

he character of these classes is exposed once again as servitors and ickeys of imperialism The Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, has hamelessly justified this dangerous imperialist adventure, and, in he process, has implicated all the previous Governments as devious ccomplices and willing tools of imperialism

The India Government has often colluded with the superpowers o sabotage the unity of the Third World and satisfy its intention of xpansionism India was the supply base for the CIA infiltration f Tibet It was the Soviet Social imperialists who egged Indira andhi on to attack and dismember Pakistan in 1971 When the oviets were withholding spares from Egypt, the Indian Government efused to help Egypt

This Himalayan operation was part of the U,S imperialists' attempt o turn India into the base for a full scale attack on Socialist China uch an attack was of course foiled by firm Chinese preparedness gainst aggression Otherwise, the greatest sufferings would have een imposed upon th Indian and Chinese peoples However, as hings stand today, the danger of the radio-active pollution of the anges and subsequent loss of life and limb for generations of ndians loom large on our horiz on

The super powers have never had any regard for the lives of the hird World peoples in their quest for world domination The ccessive Indian Governments have shown that they do not mind ndangering the lives of our people or bartering away our sover ignty for a few dollars and roubles

The patriotic Indian p ople want that all such arrangements in ague with U S Imp rialism or Soviet Social Imperialism should e exposed, that the persons responsible for these should be puni hed for anti national activities and unequal treaties with super owers should be abrogated

We call upon the Party and all patriotic and democratic groups nd individuals to demonstrate resolutely their opposition to super ower domination, subversion and control and warn the ruling

classes solemnly of a firm resolve to defeat their collusion and capitulation

Down With Morarji Desai s Traitorous Policies
Down With Super Power Hegemonism, Control And Subversion
Countries, Nations And Peoples of The Third World Will Unite to Defeat The Super Powers

A Letter for Cognition

To
The General Secretary,
Fertilisers Corporation Kamgar Union,
Sindri

Dear friend,

You are aware that an appeal for building a united trade Union movement for fighting for the better living condition and democratic rights of the workers in Sindri was made by Comrade S N Sinha on 5th March '78 through a mass meeting After that several members of the Exe utive Committee of this union have been raising the qu stion of uniting all the progressive forces in a single union As you know Comrade S N Singh is the founder of this union and he personally attended the Executiv Committee meeting and appealed for unity, How ver, despite the aspirations of all genuine progressive forces in Sindri and despite our constant efforts the leadership of this union particularly the C P I (M) l adership is bent upon disrupting th unity of the workers and has refus d to agree for unity

Hence, I consid r it wrong to continu in the executiv of your union I resign hereby from the Fertiliser Corporation Kamgar Union and declare that I shall work along with Com S N Singh to build a really progressive fighting union for the Sindri workers from this date

Yours fasthfully
Arun Shrivastava.

1 5 78

Soviet Social Colonialism Stands Exposed

By HSING HUA

SOVIET colonialism with a socialist front is the latest variant of colonialism The Kremlin's new tsars, stepping into the shoes of their predecessors, are trying to build a new worldwide colonial system with Moscow as the supreme arbiter It is of immediate significance to the present-day world revolutionary struggle against the two superpowers, Soviet social imperialism in particular, if the veil of Soviet social colonialism is ripped off to reveal the danger it poses

Social Colonialism Its Formation and Distinct Features

Colonialism is an institution under which a few capitalist powers, by aggression, oppression and exploitation, reduce the majority of the world's lesser and weaker countries to the status of colonies or semi-colonies This is what Lenin meant when he wrote "the capitalist colonial system i e , a system of enslavement, plunder and violence" (*Inflammable Material in World Politics*) In capitalism's primitive accumulation period, the colonialist powers drained the wealth of the colonies and accumulated capital through buccaneering, dishonest trading, traffic in Negro slaves and other means. In capitalism's laissez faire period, the bourgeoisie in countries like Britain and France made big profits by exporting commodities and seizing raw materials overseas in the name of "free trade" By the time capitalism entered its highest stage, the stage of imperialism, export of capital became a dominating factor in the colonial policies of th imperialist countries which by means of capital export intensified as never before th ir control and plundering of the colonies

The scramble for colonies among the imperialist powers during this period grew increasingly acute

This step up of the colonial policy of imperialism had its repercussions in the international workers' movement As early as 70 years ago, not long after capitalism had entered the stage of imperialism, the old line revisionists of the Second International, such as Bernstein, MacDonald and Van Kol, came into the open to play the role of apologists for colonialism with a socialist front Peddling what they called a "socialist colonial policy," these renegades to Marxism defended the oppression and enslavement of the colonies by the monopoly capital in their own countries European nations, they asserted, were 'civilized' and "advanced," while the people of the colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America belonged to "backward ' nations They spoke of the "necessity" of placing "uncivilized" nations under some sort of "guardianship" of the "civilized' nations , they claimed that the colonial policy under socialist regime "may have a civilizing effect," and therefore such a socialist colonial policy must be energetically developed Lenin gave these fallacies a thorough trouncing This so-called socialist colonial policy, he pointed out, "was tantamount to a direct re treat towards bourgeois policy ' (*The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart* published in *Kalendar*) and a "decisive step towards subordinating the proletariat to bourgeois ideology, to bourgeois imperialism which is now a rogantly raising its head " (*The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart*, published in *Proletary*) The firm opposition put up by Lenin, who represented the revolutionaries in the Second International, condemned this "socialist colonial policy ' to die in its womb This historical episode pointed up the fact that whoever falls into the stinking pit of revisionism and becomes an agent of the bourgeoisie is bound to end up as an apologist for colonialism or a social colonialist

Present day Soviet social-colonialism, the upshot of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, has its deep economic roots and class origin Chairman Mao said "The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie " ' The Soviet Union

today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie" Not long after Stalin's death, Soviet Party and state power fell into the hands of the Khrushchov Brezhnev revisionist clique, the bourgeois representatives who had wormed their way into the Soviet Communist Party In pushing a counter-revolutionary revisionist line they had capitalism restored in all spheres of endeavour and banded together as a bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class of a new type With state power under their control, they transformed the socialist ownership into the ownership of the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class and turned the socialist economy into a state monopoly capitalist economy They are after the maximum profits, and so while exploiting and oppressing the people at home, the have joined the ranks of international imperialism, pushing an imperialist policy to divide up the world

As colonialism of the latest type, Soviet social-colonialism has come on the scene at a time when the imperialist system of colonialism is crumbling with a bang and when fundamental changes in the balance of class forces in the international arena are going against imperialism

In pushing its colonial policy in its early days, imperialism generally relied on fire and the sword to seize colonies where it maintained direct rule over the oppressed nations Since World War II the historical trend, onrushing and irresistible, has been that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution The people in the colonies and dependencies are gripped by a strong urge to free themselves completely from the colonialist fetters Imperialism can no longer rule and exploit the colonies and newly independent countries in the way they did before As it is, the capitalist imperialist countries have been compelled to give up direct colonial rule, change to a new form and push a new colonial policy They "allow" the oppressed nations to achieve nominal independence but in reality they exercise indirect colonial rule through various means Examples follow by knocking together military blocs, by establishing military bases,

by grooming agents in their service, they try their best to contro and enslave the colonies and developing countries By providin economic and military "aid," they stop at nothing to manipulat the economic lifelines of the recipient countries so that they ca go on using these countries as outlets for their capital export, th sources of their raw material and the markets for their manufactur goods

Soviet social colonialism too is playing the same game Bu compared with capitalist neo colonialism, it has its own peculi features

First, this colonialism with a new brand finds its roots in tsari Russia, an expansionist country by tradition and at the time th world's most barbarous and ferocious colonial empire The ol tsars cherished a fond dream of building a colossal world colonia empire which would encompass the land mass from the Elbe t China and extend from the Adriatic to the Arctic The new tsa entrenched in Moscow who now openly talk about the tsari "traditions" are drunk with ambitions that far surpass those ent tained by their progenitors

Second, it is more cunning and more dangerous than capitali colonialism whose nature of preying upon others, despite latte day changes in tactics, is still very familiar to the people of th world because it has been so for several hundred years In the ca of Soviet social colonialism which results from capitalist restorati in a socialist country, revolutionary slogans of the past are take over to dress up the neocolonialist policy with eye-catching ta such as "Leninism" and "proletarian internationalism " Colonial activities are carried out under the banner of "opposing colo alism " Social-colonialism is therefore more deceptive th capitalist neocolonialism

Third, as a late-comer to the imperialist banqueting table, is more unbridled This colonial power, when it appears on th scene, finds many raw material producing areas, markets and plac of strategic value in the world already in the hands of the old i

capitalist imperialist countries, mostly in the hands of U S imperialism So it is anxious to redivide the world and snatch spheres of influence from the United States History bears witness to the fact that in the course of colonial expansion it is invariably the up-and coming colonial powers that for strategic purposes take the offensive to supplant the existing colonial powers, In the case of U S imperialism, despite its fall from the pinnacle it remains the most powerful country in the capitalist world, determined as before to seek world hegemony But having overreached itself and bent on preserving its vested interests, U S imperialism finds it can not but go on the defensive in its general strategy With the Soviet Union, things are different As it gathers strength militarily, it is becoming more and more aggressive in encroaching on other countries sovereign rights and interests and weakening and squeezing out U S influence in all parts of the world It is trying its utmost to include the whole world in the new tsars' colonial empire

Fourth, the bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class in the Soviet Union controls not only the nation's economy but the entire state apparatus It is in a position to muster and channel the nation s political, economic and military sinews in the service of its colonial expansion That cannot be said of all capitalist imperialist countries, the United States included

In short, the danger of Soviet social-colonialism must be given sufficient attention To do otherwise would make a grave mistake

Attractive Rhetoric and Sordid Moves

Lenin in his time had lifted the veil masking imperialism's colonial policy and colonial control He said **'Finance capital finds most 'convenient', and is able to extract the greatest profit from *such* a subjection as involves the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and peoples'** (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) On the other hand he also pointed out that the imperialist powers, **"under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them econo-**

mically, financially and militarily" (*Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*) Here Soviet social colonialism can claim the accolade of past masters in rattling out the most attractive rhetoric while doing the dirtiest things

In this connection some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia are classical examples According to the Kremlin's new tsars, the Warsaw Pact organization is one of "fraternal" "military co operation" between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe The fact of life is that in that organization what the Soviet Union says goes. Under the slogans "limited sovereignty" and "international dictatorship," Moscow has placed the member countries of the organization under military occupation Through "military integration" it tightens its grip on their armed forces To maintain its colonial rule it even sends large numbers of troops abroad and set up puppet regimes at bayonet point Economically, in the name of "international division of labour," "co ordination of plans" and 'multilateral integration," it has the economic lifelines of 'fraternal' countries under its manipulation It forces them to organize their economic activities and change their own economic structures in accordance with the Soviet "principle" of "international division of labour" and the needs of the Soviet Union and to work out short term and long term plans for economic development in "co ordination" with those of the Soviet Union What all this boils down to is that these countries must give up their right to develop their own economies independently and accept the status of Soviet dependencies In addition, the Soviet Union also actively pushes integration in the political, diplomatic and ideological fields, striving to corral some of the countries in Eastern Europe and the People's Republic of Mongolia in the "community" with the Soviet bureaucrat monopoly capitalist class as the big boss

The policy of the tsars towards the third world is to impose on the Asian, African and Latin American countries "Brezhnevism' as it has been introduced to some East European countries and the People's Republic of Mongolia It vainly attempts to exercise colonial rule in these countries

Brezhnev and his ilk assert that the developing countries must form an "alliance" with the Soviet Union and declare that this is an extremely important condition for the final victory of the developing countries in their struggle for national liberation In order to consolidate the independence they have won and strive to build up an independent national economy, the developing countries have no alternative but to form an "alliance" with the Soviet Union, they say

"Alliance" with the Soviet Union indeed ! To put it bluntly, it means that the developing countries must meekly submit to the men in the Kremlin as if they were Moscow's vassal states The so called 'theory of the international worker peasant alliance" the new tsars painstakingly concocted throws some light on their evil intentions According to this 'theory," the workers' movements in the developing countries are "rather weak" so weak that they cannot exercise leadership over the national democratic revolution Therefore, the only choice is for the "unorganized" and "politically backward" peasants in the developing countries to form an "alliance" with the Soviet Union which represents the "international working class" It has even been shamelessly declared that the Soviet Union is not only the "main ally" of the national liberation movement but also the dominating force" for the independent development of the liberated countries When the new tsars claim that the Soviet Union is the ' dominating force," they expect the developing countries to willingly accept the status of dependencies and colonies and look to the Soviet Union as their new suzerain

Lenin said export of capital is ' a solid basis for imperialist oppression and the exploitation of most of the countries and nations of the world " (*Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) As a rule, by coupling export of capital with the signing of unequal treaties the imperialist powers extract from other countries economic, political and military privileges by which to turn them into dependent countries or colonies in one form or another

The same is true of Soviet social-colonialism By giving ' aid" to developing countries, in other words, by exporting capital, it seeks

to prevent them from establishing a comprehensive economic system of their own and requires them to join the Soviet Union in "socialist international division of labour," "economic integration" and "international specialization of production" What is happening in Eastern Europe and in Mongolia is an illustration of this By "division of labour" and "specialization" social colonialism requires the developing countries to produce food grains and raw materials and serve as suppliers of agricultural products and raw materials to the Soviet Union and its commodity markets

To drag developing countries into the system of "international division of labour" and "economic integration," the Soviet Union has also gone in for "new forms of co operation," such as "oriented production" and "co-ordination of plans" in the third world The developing countries are required to co ordinate their national economic plans with the Soviet Union and turn out the products it needs These moves are designed to gain control of these countries' economic lifelines and bring their national economies into the Soviet orbit. As the Indian newspaper *Financial Express* pointed out, "The oriented production conducted by Moscow in India will enable the Soviet Union unjustifiably to sway the Indian industry" The "co-operation" between the national economic planning organizations of India and the Soviet Union, as one Indian public figure put it, is virtually another means by which both countries' plans would accord with each other as is done in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance Thus India will become in the main the supplier of raw materials and primary products to the Soviet Union

By "military aid," the Soviet Union monopolizes arms supplies to other countries, lays down restrictions on the use of Soviet arms and seizes control of the armies of the recipient countries

These are the trammels, economic, military and political, by which the new tsars keep the developing countries under their thumb Whoever is caught in the net will have to dance to their baton , otherwise, the stick in the form of economic and military pressures will come swinging over his head A few years ago

Moscow loudly preached its "friendship" with Egypt as an example of its relationship with the developing countries But it was not long before Moscow did everything it could to make life difficult for Egypt when the latter wanted to be its own master and opposed the Kremlin's dictates In a huff, Moscow terminated the supplies of arms to Egypt as well as machines equipment, parts and accessories for the "aid" items, and scrapped contracts and stopped all imports from Egypt, thus for a time bringing production in one third of Egyptian factories to a standstill The Sudan Egypt's neighbour, suffered the same and for the same reason In recent years, the Soviet Union masterminded coups in its attempts to subvert the lawfully instituted governments of these countries

More Avaricious Than Capitalist Imperialism

The new tsars are never weary of swearing that the Soviet Union "has not in the least been embroiled in the colonialist plunder of the Asian, African and Latin American countries" and "has not in the least exploited the people of these countries by means of neo-colonialism" In point of fact, they are greedier than capitalist imperialism when it comes to colonial exploitation and plunder

Lenin penetratingly exposed the crimes of the capitalist imperialists in opening up markets and reaping superprofits by the export of capital He pointed out "**The most usual thing**' in the imperialist export of capital "**is to stipulate that part of the loan that is granted shall be spent on purchases in the creditor country The export of capital abroad thus becomes a means for encouraging the export of commodities**" (*Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*) The export of capital plays a very conspicuous role in opening up commodity markets in the case of the Soviet Union Soviet "aid" to third world countries carries with it stipulations that the recipient countries must use not part but practically all of the loan to purchase Soviet products, in particulur machines and equipment *World Economy and International Relations*, a Soviet journal, admitted that 80 per cent of the Soviet exports of machines equipment and transport vehicles to the

market of the capitalist world go to developing countries For example, machines and equipment sold to Africa alone in 1974 under an "aid" programme showed a tenfold increase as compared with the 1960 figure By extending "economic aid' in the form of loans, which was spurred by the export of capital the Soviet Union has since 1960 sold the third world countries over 20 000 million dollars worth of machines, equipment and other manufactured goods at high prices and extracted superprofits to the tune of several thou sand million dollars In addition from 1955 to 1973, the Soviet Union sold East European countries again at fantastic prices, manu factured goods for more than 35,000 million dollars (including machines and equipment worth over 15 000 millions), making close to 8,400 million dollars in superprofits It must be pointed out that much of what the Soviet Union exported in the way of machi nes, equipment and other industrial products was shoddy outdated, very poor in quality Far from helping these countries to develop their economies these imports from the Soviet Union became heavy economic liabilities

Lashing out at the old line colonialist powers for their plunder of raw materials Karl Marx pointed out that the colonialists turned the colonies into sources of raw materials and ruthlessly exploited them through inequitable trade and investment The Soviet Union today is doing the same thing Soviet revisionism and its press make no secret of the fact that through loans to developing coun tries the Soviet Union will increase the import of the raw materials foodstuffs and finished goods that it takes a fancy to and finds eco nomically profitable, in addition to stepping up its export of machi nes. Such is the way the Soviet Union robs the third world and other countries of their raw materials and subsidiary products. Sta tistics show that from 1960 to 1974 the Soviet Union imported 20,900 million dollars worth of primary products from the third world, half of which were used for repayment of debts It is crystal clear that what Moscow has time and again advertised as a principle of "enormous mutual value," which stipulates repayment of debts with raw materials or traditional commodities, is nothing but a colo

nialist millstone round the necks of the recipient countries Since the recipient countries are obliged to repay debts by organizing pro duction in accordance with Soviet requirements and shipping their lowly-priced products to the Soviet Union, they run the risk of being reduced to raw material suppliers and accessory factories

Then there is another Soviet underhand way of plundering and exploiting other countries which goes by the name "equitable and mutually beneficial" trade Top Soviet revisionists say that the Soviet Union is opposed to 'inequitable exchange' and 'exploita tion of the developing countries by way of forcing up the price of manufactured goods and keeping down the price of raw materials.' It is a typical case of one thief calling another thief According to the statistics listed in the *Net Cost of the Soviet Foreign Aid*, a U S publication, from 1960 to 1974, the Soviet Union extracted fabulous profits of 11,800 million dollars from its inequitable trade with the third world countries. The exploitation keeps growing as its import -export trade with the third world countries multiplies from year to year In terms of the parity change in trading on a barter basis, this ruthless exploitation is even more astonishing In 1960, a deve loping country must export 1 7 tons of tea in exchange for a Soviet metal-cutting machine tool In 1974, this went up to 3 8 tons In 1960, a developing country must export 4 tons of natural rubber in exchange for a Soviet heavy duty truck In 1974, the exchange rate was 10 tons

Global Strategy for World Domination

The new tsars' social colonialist policy is of a piece with their global strategy and policy for world hegemony and serves the latter

Lenin taught us that if we want to grasp the real essence of a country's foreign policy, we must make a comprehensive class ana lysis of its economic base and its general policy in international relations The economic base of Soviet social imperialism is state monopoly capitalism, the hallmark of which is plunder, expansion and contention for world hegemony Moscow's entire foreign policy hinges on its scramble for world domination In Europe, it keeps

some of the countries in Eastern Europe firmly within the Kremlin's sphere of influence and uses them as forward positions for mounting attacks on Western Europe At the same time, by peddling "all Europe economic co-operation," "opposition to monopoly capitalism" and "detente," it feverishly carries out infiltration in Western Europe and tries to drive a wedge between Western Europe and the United states In Asia, Africa and Latin America, flaunting the banner of "anti colonialism," "assistance" and "support," it competes with the United States for sources of raw materials, commodity markets, investment openings and spheres of influence

The Soviet performance as regards the question of Angola makes clear what the new tsars mean by 'support for national liberation movements' and "aid" to developing countries Known as "the jewel of Africa" for its natural wealth, Angola commards the strategic passage to the South Atlantic In the course of the Angolan people s protracted struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, the Soviet Union never gave them assistance in a significant way But in November 1975 when Angola proclaimed its independence and the Portuguese colonialists were on their way out, the Soviet Union suddenly saw fit to come out with support and assistance for a factional organization of liberation in Angola in a big way It cast a covetous eye on Angola's abundant resources and regarded the country as holding the key to the struggle with the United States for control of the sea lanes in the South Atlantic and as the stepping stone to its infiltration in southern Africa. The mercenaries' armed intervention in Angola and the invasion of Zaire showed just how frenzied the new tsars were in pushing their policy of colonial expansion Brezhnev declared "Strengthening its economic and defence potential has enabled the Soviet Union to launch an active and successful 'offensive' in the international arena" and "in shaping our foreign policy we now have to reckon in one way or another, with the state of affairs in virtually every spot on the globe " What ambitions ! It seems as if the new tsars are going to gobble up the earth at one gulp

This is how the Soviet social colonialists contend for world hegemony with the United States and encroach on the sovereignty of developing countries while they harp on the shopworn theme of 'opposition to imperialism" and 'support for developing countries" Lenin long ago warned the oppressed nations and the people of all colonies to be vigilant against the tactics employed by imperialism He said that "the struggle for national liberation against one imperialist power may, under certain conditions, be utilised by another 'great' power for its own, equally imperialist, aims' (*The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self Determination*) As a latecomer, U S imperialism took advantage of the Cuban and Filipino struggles for national independence at the end of the 19th century to seize the two countries from the Spanish colonialist and put them under U S colonial rule Today the new tsars are resorting to the same trick in colonial expansion

* * *

Chairman Mao's theory of the differentiation of the three worlds provides the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and revolutionary people in all lands with a powerful ideological weapon for forging unity and building the broadest united front against the two hegemonist powers' war policies It will serve to push the world revolution forward At present, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism waged by the world's revolutionary people, above all by the third world countries, is surging forward and the international situation is very good To carry this struggle through to the end and win still greater victories, it is imperative to oppose colonialism and neocolonialism, and Soviet social colonialism in particular The tiger must be prevented from coming in at the back door while the wolf is repelled at the front gate It is necessary to expose Soviet social colonialism ceaselessly, heighten vigilance and build the broadest international united front to wage a tit for tat struggle against it History is an impartial witness Spain as an empire was overthrown in the revolutionary storm of the national liberation movement in the Spanish colonies and the struggle launched by the people of

various countries The British empire which came in its wake crashed and sank in the angry waves of resistance of the oppressed nations and people Then came U S imperialism It had its heyday shortly after the end of World War II but has since been going downhill Likewise Soviet social colonialism is doomed to destruction, for the political awakening of the revolutionary people of all countries is rising as never before

(A slightly abridged translation of an article from "Hongqi" No 11, 1977 Subheads are ours)

Peking Review, December 2 1977

What Motivates "Economic Co operation"

INADEQUACY in the economic strength is the Achilles' heel of Soviet social imperialism in its cut throat rivalry with U S imperialism for world hegemony To alleviate its economic difficulties, the Soviet Union has in recent years steeply increased its trade with the West and sought enormous credits to finance the import of sophisticated equipment and technology and grain All this is done by mouthing "materialization of relaxation' and "economic co-operation" and cashing in on the appeasement trend in the West The Brezhnev clique thus has managed to boost the Soviet economic potential for arms drive and war preparations and strengthen its hand in contending for world domination

Numerous facts show that all these enormous material benefits from the West have only served to help the Soviet Union keep up the momentum of its rapid military buildup and encourage its aggressive and expansionist pursuits abroad

Appeasers in the West preach that placating the Soviet Union economically can soften up and ensnare that country and put a spoke in its expansionist wheel abroad They even claim that such a course of action can change the antagonism existing between the West and the Soviet Union and bring about a relaxation of strained relations Such appeasement thinking will get the West nowhere and, instead of curbing Soviet expansionism, can only further aggravate the danger of a new war

Storing Up Strategic Grain Reserves

Grain shortage has been a chronic illness of the Soviet Union Eight out of the 13 years since Brezhnev's assumption of power have seen agricultural shortfalls At the meeting marking the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution, Brezhnev acknowledged that Soviet grain output this year would be 20 million ton less than the planned quota, that is to say, 13 per cent less than the 1976 figure, or 21 to 26 million tons lower than the average annual output of the tenth five year plan Livestock breeding was also affected in many places because of inadequate feed In the circumstances the Soviet Union had to purchase vast amounts of grain and feed on the world market

According to official Soviet statistics, Soviet grain import in the 1965 76 period totalled 107 million tons, with over 83 million tons imported between 1972 and 1976 It is estimated that as a result of crop failures this year the Soviet Union must import 20 to 25 million tons of grain in the agricultural year ending September 1978 Meanwhile, it is increasing strategic grain reserves in a big way U S satellite photos, reports say reveal many large sized underground granaries in the Soviet Union The Soviet authorities have decided on a total garnary capacity of 30 to 40 million tons to be built and made ready for use during the period of the tenth five year plan With the millions of tons of grain supplied by the West, they not only meet current needs but also fill the granaries of strategic reserves In the calculations of new tsars who are preparing for a new war, this grain reserves buildup is indispensable

Developing War Industry

For years the Kremlin's all out drive to expand the war industry has left the Soviet economy in a state of lopsided development the consumer industries are backward and the growth of production has fallen markedly According to Western estimates, the technical level in many Soviet enterprises, as compared with the West, generally lags behind 12 to 20 years So with 'economic co operation" as blandishments Moscow tries as best it can to obtain sophisticated technology and equipment from the West In 1976, for example machinery and transport vehicles accounted for well over one third of the total exports by the Western countries to the Soviet Union Importation of such equipment is not only conducive to making up Soviet deficiencies but much of it can be made to suit military purposes, or directly put to use for the military industry in the event of war Take the Kama River Truck Plant built with the help of several Western countries for example When fully commissioned, it will turn out 150 000 to 200,000 multi shaft trucks and 250,000 diesel engines annually In case war breaks out, it can easily be converted to produce tanks, reconnaissance military cars, rocket launchers and military transport vehicles Some equipment is urgently needed by the Soviet Union to develop its military tech nology The U S Cyber 73 computer system which is widely used in the United States for military purposes was bought by the Soviet Union last year This will make the Soviet computer technique leap forward by as much as ten years What is more, it will help the Soviet Union improve its military research and production Besides, Moscow is intent on purchasing more sophisticated U S computer systems and "CF 6" jet engines with the biggest horsepower and parts and accessories essential to producing items for military purposes. The Soviet Union has also imported other equipment from the West, including an array of items of strategic significance such as rolling equipment for ferrous and non ferrous metals with an annual capacity of over 6 million tons, complete sets of equipment for chemical industry, large diam ter natural gas pipes with a total length of 5,000 kilometres and large quantities of equipment for the

petroleum industry In 1972 73, the Soviet Union bought from the United States 164 precision grinding machines capable of making precision miniature ball bearings needed for mass production of guidance mechanisms for the multiple independently targetable re entry vehicles (MIRVs) In short, industrial epuipment from the West provides favourable conditions for the Soviet Union to build up its strength both economically and militarily

Rearing a Tiger to Devour Oneself

The Soviet Union is low in funds because of militarization of the national economy Huge military expenditures have consumed much of the country's resources, and this gives one the impression of a beggar dressing up as a "military giant." Time and again, Moscow went hat in hand to Western countries for large loans to import food grain, technology and equipment and ease economic difficulties at home Rough estimates put Soviet debts to Western countries at between 15,000 and 20,000 million U S dollars by the end of 1976 By giving Soviet social imperialism shot after shot in the arm, the Western countries have given the Soviet Union a free hand to concentrate on building up its military strength at a faster tempo and pose a greater threat to the West

In the past few years, taking advantage of the appeasement trend in some Western circles to mislead the West, the Kremlin's new tsars have done their best to disguise themselves as partners in "eco nomic co-operation ' with the Western countries. They are never weary of advertising the benefits Western countries will reap from this co-operation which, they even assert, is "conducive to consoli dating universal peace." But the stark reality has laid bare the new tsars' gimmick

In this connection it is useful to review lessons in history On the eve of World War II, when Germany embarked upon a course of rearmament and set to plotting a war of aggression, the United States, Britain, France and other countries energetically pushed a policy of appeasement in the economic sphere and gave Germany

some bolstering up, in order to gain a breathing space for themselves. In addition to food grain, cotton and crude oil, Berlin was offered huge loans, technology, patent rights and supplies of industrial raw materials, military equipment ranging from plane engines to spare parts. It was a case of rearing a tiger to devour oneself. The United States, Britain, France and other countries had to pay for this heavily. The appeasers of today have provided the superpower, which is more ferocious and greedy than Hitlerite Germany, with more food grain, more advanced technology and larger loans. But they can neither soften the super-power up nor pin it down. On the contrary they will only whet its expansionist ambitions and precipitate its launching of a new world war.

An increasing number af people in the West are now disturbed by the grave consequences of economic appeasement. Articles in recent issues of the U.S. weekly *Human Events* pointed to the fact that "U.S.-Soviet trade fuels the Soviet war machine" and that "business deals" with the Soviet Union "entail for the United States and the West significant political or strategic risks" and are "contributions to Soviet military power."

The U.S. press pointed out that Western countries are helping the Soviet Union and some countries in Easteran Europe to revive their economies and expand their already bloated war machines by offering them huge loans with low interest. A newspaper in the West even figuratively said : When the Soviet Union pounces upon the West some day, people in the West would "find" that "guillotines were built by Western contractors and financed by Western banks with the low interest loans."

—by Hsu Keng-sheng

[Peking Review, December 26, 1977]

Communist Revolutionaries are getting unified

Joint Statement

Discussion have been continuing for sometime between Com Santu of the Regional Committee (Unnao-Hardoi Lucknow), C P I (M L) and Com. Jaswant Singh, the Secretary of the West U P Regional Committee of C P I (M L) on political and tactical questions. Both the organisations have reached the conclusion that the situation demands the building of a single party of Marxism Leninism As there is no basic difference on political and tactical questions, Com. Santu and his organisation has decided to merge with C.P I (M L) Whose general secretary is Com. S N Singh.

(Sd) Jaswant Singh
(Sd) Santu.
1 3 78

On The Successful Completion of 11th National Congress Of C. P. C.

The Chairman,
Central Committee,
Communist Party of China

Dear Comrade,

Kindly accept our warm congratulations and fraternal felicitations on the successful conclusion of the historic 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China.

The decisions of th 11th Na'io ial Congress of the CPC signify a great victory of Marxism Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought They signify a smashing defeat for the dirty schemes of the 'Gang of four" They will greatly contribute in consolidating and deve loping socialist china as bulwork of world revolution and are thus of immense service to the cause of the world proletariate and the entire oppress d mankind including the Indian people

The historic decisions of the 11th National Congress will im measurably inspire the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities in China to build fairly an Independent compre hensive modern industrial and economic system by 1980 and con tribute more a id more towards th emancipation of the oppressed mankind

Th historic decisions of the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China will be a great weapon in the hands of the countries and the p oples of the Third World and the second World in their struggl against th two sup r pow rs who have intensified their rivalries for world hegemony

The great decision of th 11th National Congress once again fully confirm that the Communist Party of China is a great, Glo rious and correct party and the cause of the world revolution and Marxism L ninism Mao Ts Tung Thought is safe in its hands

Long live the gr at historic 11th National Congress of the C P C

Long live the great, glorious and the correct Communist Party of China

Long live Marxism Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought

S N Singh
General Secretary,
For Central Committee of C P I (M L)

Bihar State Indo China Friendship Association Reorganised

Patna, April 20, 1978

At a meeting of representatives of different shades of opinion, held here last evening at the Gandhi Memorial Museum, Mr Ahad Fatmi presiding it was decided to reorganise the Bihar State Indo-China Friendship Association with Shree Sheel Bhadra Yajee as President, Dr Balbhadra Prasad former Vice Chancellor, Shri Ram Dani Ram M P, (Janata), Shri Jaya Narayan, Shri Taqui Rahim, Tripurai Sharan, Shankar Singh Ahad Fatmi G M Bhatta and S N Singh as Vice Presidents, Mr Prabho Nath Tiwari as Treasurer, Mr K N Sandilya as General Secretary and Messrs Arbind Kumar, B N Sharma Brahmdeo Prasad Singh Raghubansh Singh and Tej Narayan Vidyarthi Secretaries Those who spoke on the imperative desirability of having a broad based committee included Dr Balbhadra Prasad, K N, Sandilya Taqui Rahim, P N Tiwari, S N Singh, Tripurari Sharan, Shankar Singh and B N Sharma Earlier a message from Shri Jayaprakash Narayan greeting the move to reorganise the Bihar State Indo Chira Friendship Asso ciation was read by Mr Sandilya Mr Narayan highlighted in his message then read to keep the Association above ideological over tones.

It was also decided to hold the meeting of the above named State Committee at Gandhi Memorial Museum on 2nd May at 5 P M

K N Sandilya,
General Secretary,
Bihar State Friendship Association

Message From Jayaprakash Narayan To The B S I C F A

I have viewed with a serse of satisfaction at the growing awareress both in Irdia ard Chira of the need to improve relatiens between the two countries I am particularly happy to note that, apart from what is being dore on the governmental plane efforts are being made on the popular level to renew the age old ties of friendship between the two nations

It must, however, be borne in mird that Irdo China Friendship is based more on common culture than on anything else Our efforts must, therefore, have cultural overtones, irrespective of the ideologies professed by the people concerned I hope the Indo China Friendship Association which is being reorganised in Bihar will sincerely work in this direction

I wish the Association all success

Patna, Sd/ Jayaprakash Narayan
19th April, 1978

Political Notes & Comments

Fight and defeat the unpatriotic Anti-China Foreign Policy of the Indian Govt

THE recent disclosure that diabolical duplicity in which the Congress Govts. have been indulging under the smokescreen of "Non alignment" in relation to China have started and shocked the patriotic and democratic people in our country The Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai s statement that plutonium powered monitorism devices were planted in the Himalayas by the agents of the C I A and the Indian Intelligence Bureau under the joint direction of the Govt of U S A and the Govt of India at the highest level speaks volumes about Indian Govt. attitude in relation

to China Now, Dr Subrabanyam Swami M P has come out with another disclosure no less startling and shocking that the Indian Govt had entered into a pact with C I A for supply of arms and training of the Khampa Tribe living on the 'Indo Tibbetan" border as early as 1959 and the pact remained in force upto 1969 Dr Swamy's statement proves that the Indian Govt was engaged in organising armed intervention against China in 1959 i, e, much before the border conflict

These disclosures prove up to the hilt how the Congress Govts under the ledership of Jawahar Lal Nehru whom the C P I and the C P I (M) characterise as "anti imperialist", "progressive" and architect of "panchseel" have been working as faithful agents of the super powers against china all the time while at the same time shouting "Bhai Bhai" The Justification Provided by Mr Desai for such anti national and anti people pacts in the name of "international situation prevailing at that time and scientific develop ments which were taking place both far and near' only exposes the present Janata Govt's intention to continue the anti China policy and serve the global interests of the two superpowers It also explains why the Janata Govt has been thwarting the Indian people's aspiration for restoring and strengthening full friendly relations with China It should be known to all that when the present Govt. talks of friendship with China it is only pretending All the patriots and democrats must redouble their efforts to defeat the unpatriotic foreign policy being pursued by the Morarji Govt In this contest we are publishing the editorial of "Economic And Political Weeky", published on April 2?, 1978 .

Under Cover of Non Alignment

(Editional Comment of Economic And Political weekly)

The Prime minister's statement in the Lok Sabha about the plu tonium powered monitoring devices planted in the Himalayas by agents of the U S Central Intelligence Agency and the Indian Intelligence Bureau masquerading as 'mountaineers' all under the direc-

tion of " Government of India and the Government of the United States of America at the highest level" has served a most useful purpose in that it provides official confirmation of what has always been suspected that the Government of India has been, not withstanding periodical assertions of its non alignment, generally willing to play ball with the super powers But the statement is not really complete, nor perhaps even fully honest

Aceording to the Prime Minister, the decision to collaborate with the U S and plant the SNAP generator in the Himalayas was taken in early 1964, when Jawaharlal Nehru was in command Morarji Desai has sought to explain the decision as being influenced by the "international situation prevailing at that time and scientific developments which were taking place both far and near" meaning presumably the border conflict with China and the anticipation of Chin's first nuclear explosion in October 1964 The actual planting was achieved, after two infructuous attempts in 1965 and 1966, during the regime of Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai in 1967 But the statement does not explain why the 1965 expedition which hed "securely cached" the SNAP generator at a highest of 23,000 feet about 2,000 feet below the Nanda Devi summit did not actually 'plant' it at the same altitude, but instead merely cached it, went back to retrieve it, unsuccessfully, in 1966, and again returned in 1967 to plant "a new device" After all the "new device" was intalled on a "neighbouring peak" (Nanda Kot) whose altitude is actually lower than the hight at which the SNAP generator had been abandoned in 1965 (According to the original story in the American journal *Outside Magazine*, the 1967 powerpack too was just abandoned on Nanda Kot, when both the governments had no more use for the device , Morarji Desai says that it was retrieved in 1968 and returned to the U S)

Secondly, the statement speaks of samples of water being taken up from the Ganga for analysis of any possible contamination "upto 1970" This is a most odd revelation If indeed the 1967 SNAP generator was removed in 1968 and returned to the US presumably because by then other means of spying on the Chinese nuclear

programme had been perfected the anxiety that might have been present over the 'lost' SNAP generator of 1965 was very short lived, lasting barely a year after the 1967 generator was removed If, as the Prime Minister says, all aspects of safety were taken into consideration "at that time", how could the government have been so callous regarding the well known health hazards the 'lost' power pack still posed to milions of people all along the Indo Gangetic plains ? There have also been conflicting reports about the composition of the powerpack, with the Prime Minister's statement referring only to Plutonium 238, allegedly less deadly than Plutonium 239

It is, however, the political aspects of the Himalayan capers which are truly scandalous Jawaharlal Nehru could enjoy the reputation of being a firm anti imperialist and socialist and simultaneously plot with the United States against China Those who followed him only continued the deception There have already been attempts in the country to attribute the present revelations too to the CIA, as part of its nefarious campaign to 'malign' such anti imperialtst luminaries as Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi According to such interpretations, these leaders were either 'psyched' into being tools of the CIA, or 'badgered' into that role by an understanding opposition, or 'driven into American arms' by China, ever jealous of the progress the country was achieving under the democratic socialist dispensation of Jawaharlal Nehru It is noteworthy in this context that when, finally, under the Indira Gandhi regime the expedition to Nanda Kot achieved success, the United States under Lyndon Johnson was deep in the midst of its most savege phase in Vietnam , also, about the same time, in return for the promise of resumption of American aid' suspended briefly following the 1965 conflict with Pakistan, India had agreed virtually to suspend its normal trade with North Vietnam and Cuba

On violence, the monopolists and unemployment

Some remarks of the Prime Minister Sri Morarji Desai have drawn the attention of the people In one remark he has expressed

his anxiety over the growing incidents of violence in the country and has expressed his desire to hold a national discussion on how to check violence In another remark he has expressed his "dissatisfaction" with the monopoly capitalists and has asked them to look after the benefit of the people Two central ministers Shri Biju Pattanaik and Shri George Fernandes have also pointed out that 8 percent of the companies accounted in 1976 for 41 3 percent of the profits after tax and have asked the monopolists not to "think in terms of family and houses" At the same time they assured the big companies that it was not the policy of the government" In another remark shri Desai has again emphasised his "resolve" to solve unemployment problem in the next nine years

All these remarks and statements by Janata Party leaders are not isolated ones One year has elapsed since they came to power In one year they have followed the economic policy of the Congress party, they have not touched foreign or domestic monopoly houses, they have done nothing to break the fetter of feudalism over our agriculture. On the other hand armed attack by police and landlords are continuing against the just struggle of workers and peasants Starting from Rajhara to Pantnagar and Bailadila, we see everyday reports of shooting down of workers and peasant The Janata Govt. has failed to take a single step towards solving unemployment. According to their own arithmatic of solving unemployment in ten years, they should have solved 10 percent of the problem or at least 5 percent of the problem in one year Will they tell us how much they have solved ? They won't For everybody knows that not even 1 percent of the problem has been solved, rather it has aggravated The only unemployment problems that has been solved is that Shri Morarji Desai and his cabinet colleagues have been employed as Ministers

All these great achievements of the Janata Party have disillusioned the people to a great extent and their struggle is taking the form of revolutionary violence more and more as a defence against the counter revolutionary violence of the ruling classes and their state It is precisely this which has made the Janata leaders 'anxious'

They know it very well that by bullets alone, the struggle of the people can not be suppressed And so they are coming forward with sermon to pacify the people They want all political parties to join hands with them in condemning revolutionary violence of the people in the name of condemning violerce in general They are not at all against the counter revolutionary violence against the workers and peasants Have they ever denounced the shooting down of workers and peasants at Kanpur, Bokaro Gaziabad, Pimpri, Belchi, Bailadila, Tamil Nad, Hyderabad and Pantnagar ? They have not They are FOR it What they are against is the resistance of the people We want to tell these people in clear cut terms that the Marxist Leninists will never echo their posure of "condemning violerce in general ' The revolutionery people were against the counter revolutionary violence of Indira regime and now they are against the counter revolutionary violence of Janata and Congress Governments The Marxist Leninists always uphold the resistance of the people against the counter revolutio nary violence of the ruling classes and will continue to do so

The Janata leaders, taking the foot steps of Indira are uttering empty threats against the Capitalists and false promises to solve unemployment only to deceive the people and pacify them If they are sincere in solving the problems of the Indian people, then let them answer the following questions categorically Are they ready to confiscate the capital and assets of foreign monopoly capitalists without compensation ? Are they ready to confiscate thousands of crores of assets of Tatas and Birlas without compen sation ? Are they ready to abrogate the unequal trade treaties with the two super powers the U S A and Soviet Union ? Are they ready to confiscate the land of the landlords and distribute them gratis to the landless and poor peasants ? Are they ready to take over the wholesale trade of food grains and other essential commodities and ensure their distribution at fair price through a public distribution system ? No, they are not for any of these things They want to remove the right to property as a fundamen tal right from the constitution but want to retain it as a statutory

measure They are doing all these things to deceive the people n one hand and serve the interests of imperialism social imperialism, compradors and bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism on the other The Indian people must see behind their empty words their real intentions and unite to overthrow the plunder of four big mountains over the shoulder of the Indian people, which alone can solve their basic problems like land, price and unemployment

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Tamil Nadu Peasant Agitation Solution Not by Muskets

In the wake of manifold increase of agricultural production during the last two decades, there has been correspondingly no improvement in the economic conditions of farmers Barring a very few landlords, the majority of the farming community are still steeped in indebtedness In drought prone areas like Coimbatore, Dharmapuri, North Arcot and Ramnad Districts their conditions are still worse

Back ground

Tamil nadu had to face a worst drought year before last and cyclone and floods last year In the back ground of our planning with slant towards Industry, Agriculture had only step-motherly treatment all these years except some relief measures at the time of drought or floods All Governmental loans were postponed from time to time with accumulations of interest Already the borrowings of the peasants were full to the brim in Banks, Co operative Societies, most of them had to continue operations with Jewel Loans Their long standing demands like higher procurement prices for their produce especially paddy, reduction of prices of

fertilizers and seeds could not reach the deafening ears of the powers that be Further increase of living costs due to price increase had landed the farmers to miseries.

How & Why this Agitation leading to Violence ?

In December 1977, the Government of Tamil Nadu appointed a High Power Committee consisting of 21 members to enquire into the condition of farmers As usaul this Committee had the same fate of any other Governmental Committees in its functioning Three months of deliberations could produce nothing but confirmed the pre conceived notion of the peasants that these committees are meant to shelve their vital problems Simultaneously, the officials of the Co operative D partment were harassing the farmers and even attaching their personal belongings such as cattle, poultry and implements for collections of arrears, in some places Bill collectors of Electricity Boards disconnected the power lines The coersive tactics of the bureaucract officials increased their mental agony and drove them to desperation in the districts of North Arcot, Dindigul, Madhurai, Coimbatore and Salem

On 7 4-78, a peasant approach d the Co operative Bank in Kelur Villag near Vellore for redeeming his jewels after payment of the loan probably to dispose off the same to avoid further accumulation of interest, but he was not allowed to redeem the same by the Officers, by accounting for the money in some other loan to his credit His appeal and pleadings before the officer was of no avail. He was sent out of the Bank Irritated peasant reported the same to his co peasants who gathered there and demanded justice After five hours of negotiations (reported in papers as "Gherao") by the president and others, the jewel was return d. When the news spread like wild fire, in another village Edathanur in the same North Acrot District the President of the Local Agriculturists Association marched along with the peasants and seized back all their respective holdings attached and kept by the officials the previous day for the loans A "No Tax" Tom Tom campaign was resorted to by the peasants when th y h ard the news of the arr

ests of thousands and thousands of peasants, The collector as usual made it a law and order problem and police intervened and aggravated the situation further Police Vans were burnt, move ment of traffic in trunk roads was stopped by creating road blocks. The situation took a violent turn

Police opened fire which led to the death of 10 persons 8 on the spot and 2 later in the hospital (Vedachendur 5, Nochi Odaipatti 1, Sanarpat i 1, Odukathur 1, hospital 2) Several thou sands were injured and several thousands were jailed Army were called and it marched through thoroughfares,

No doubt temporary peace was restored with the help of mus kets and thousands inside jails But the problems remain unsolved

Who fanned the flames ?

The Peasant Agitation was a sponteneous outburst not led by any of the kisan organizations with due preparations Nor any political party had any hand in the struggle It could be very well seen from the very nature of the present day movements and func-tioning of political parties. All try to compete with one another in showing off their strength by conferences only in cities and urban areas

Ruling Anna D M K which came to power only last year with the slogan of "Clean and non-corrupt Government" as forced to defend the action of officers and their bureaucracy, attributed this to Naxalite type of agitation and opposition D M K's hand in it without the knowledge of the exact situation All the newspapers with the same political view as the Anna D M K came out as usual in support of the Govt

D M K, main opposition in the legislature play d its role to discredit the Government and condemned the police excesses While D M K was in power they had to face a similar agricultu ral agitation with only slight difference of army being not pressed into service then This was well utilized by the Ruling Party to put the opposition on the defensive

Peasant organizations which were divided could not give prop r leadership. An organization led by Krishnaswamy Gounder of

Coimbatore at the outset supported the Government's announcement of postponement of loan payments and reduction of 2 ps per unit of electricity charges in the face of the repressive measures of the Government Another organization led by Mr Narayana swamy though joined hand could not lead the same properly on account of his being arrested

C P I (M), allies of the Ruling A I Anna D M K were in a helpless position as very recently they had the blessings of a seat in the M L C elections generously given to their party by A I A D M K They kept quiet for over 5 days and came out with a statement that the agitation was engineered by "Mirasdars" Association and suggested to the farmers to form a separate union

C P I with its self-criticism in Bhatinda wanted to exploit the situation but their lack of understanding of the problems in particular recent upsurge was well proved in the hollowness of statement issued by their spokesman Sri M Kalyanasundaram M P who wanted the Peasants' Organizations to accept the conditions stipulated by his party to enable to assure his party's support, one of the conditions being the payment of Rs 9/ per day as wages for the agricultural labourer

The reality of the situation is such that the present agitation was acute in areas where the majority of the lands i e 92 32% of the total agricultural lands were managed by small and marginal farmers having less than 4 hectres each in essentially a dry tract, (PUNJAI) depending to a large extent on the vagaries of Monsoon. The entire families are engaged in the operations and they live below the poverty line after having contributed their labour The problem of agricultural labour exists mainly in the Delta region of Thanjavur and its neighbouring districts where this agitation did not take place

Tamil Nadu Peasants' and Workers' Party which came into existence only in the third week of March with their good cadre strength in all districts are yet to organize branches Their cadres participated in full swing The political situation and the real urge of

farming community proved with justification the need for the formation of a Political Party for the peasants and workers

Real Solution

The real solution was suggested by the TAMIL NADU PEASANTS & WORKERS' PARTY The Central Committee of the Party urged upon the Government of Tamil Nadu not to approach the problem by muskets along with Police and Army patrolling throughout the countryside but solving the burning problems of peasants as follows

(1) Immediate promulgation of Ordinance for giving complete relief to the farmers by a moratorium of debt relief by writing off all loan of Central, State, Co-operative & Private Agencies owning 5 acres and less of wet lands (NANJAT) and 10 acres and less of dry lands (PUNJAI) and postponement of other loans by one year

(2) Immediate fixation of Procurement Prices for Paddy at Rs 150/ per quintal for finer variety and Rs. 140/ for Coarse Variety

In the Alternative

(3) Reduction in Rates of Electricity charges as follows :

Food Crops—8 ps per unit for consumption upto 400 units ,
" " 10 ps per unit for consumption above 400 units
Cash Crops 12 ps per unit for consumption of 400 units and less
14 ps per unit for consumption of more than 400 units

(4) Supply of fertilizers and seeds at subsidized rates.

(5) To take over completely the trade by Government by procuring directly from the farmers with wide range of procurement centres for easy access to farmers

(N B. The above report has been sent by the Secretary, Peasants' & Workers' Party to the organ, "For A New Democracy" for publication. Editor)

Things Are Beginning To Change

May 15, 1957 Mao Tsetung

The unity and struggle of opposites are universal phenomena in the life of society Struggle results in the transformation of opposite into each other and in the formation of a new unity, and the life of society thus moves one step forward

The rectification movement in the Communist Party is a struggle between two styles in a single entity This is true of the Communist Party and also of the people as a whole

There are different kinds of people in the Communist Party There are Marxists, who comprise the majority They, too, have shortcomings but not serious ones There are a number of people whose thinking errs on the side of dogmatism Most of them are staunch and steadfast and devoted to the Party and the country, only their approach to problems shows a "Left" one sidedness After overcoming this one sidedness, they will take a big step forward There are also a number of people whose thinking errs on the side of revisionism or Right opportunism They pose the bigger danger because their ideas are a reflection of bourgeois ideology inside the party, and because they yearn for bourgeois liberalism, negate everything and are tied in a hundred and one ways to bourgeois intellectuals outside the party Over the last few months, people have been criticizing dogmatism but have allowed revisionism to go unchallenged Dogmatism should be criticized, or else many mistakes cannot be rectified Now it's time to direct our attention to criticizing revisionism When dogmatism turns into its opposite it becomes either Marxism or revisionism Our Party's experience shows that there have been many instances of dogma

tism turning into Marxism but very few of dogmatism turning into revisionism, because the dogomatists represent a proletarian school of thought tainted with petty bourgeois fanaticism In some cases what is attacked as "dogmatism' is in fact mistakes in work In other cases what is attacked as "dogmatism' is in fact Marxism itself, which certain people mistake for "dogmatism" and attack as such Real dogmatists think that it is better to be on the 'L ft' than on the Right, and they have a reason they want revolution But in terms of damage to the revolutionary cause, to be on the 'Left' is in no way better than to be on the Right and should therefore be resolutely corrected Some mistakes are the result of carrying out the policies of the central authorities, and people at the lower levels should not be given an undue share of the blame There are a great many new members in our Party (even more in the Youth League) who are intellectuals, and it is true that a number of them are rather seriously afflicted with revisionist ideas They deny the Party spirit and class nature of the press, they confound the differences in principle between proletarian journalism and bou rgeois journalism, and they confuse journalism reflecting the collec tive economy of socialist countries with journalism reflecting the economy of capitalist countries, which is marked by anarchy and rivalry among monopoly group They admire bourgeois libera lism and are against the leadership of the Party They favour democracy and reject centralism They are oppossed to what is essential to the realization of a planned economy, that is, leader ship, planning and control in the cultural and educational fields (journalism included), which are indispensable and at the same time not unduly centralized These people and right wing intellec tuals outside the Party act in concert and form a congenial lot, hit ting it off like sworn brothers. Dogmatism is being criticized by various kinds of people By Communists, that is, Marxists By so-called Communists, that is, Rightists in the Communist Party revisionists And outside the Party, by the Left, the middle and the Right Large in number, this middle section accounts for about 70 per cent of all the intellectuals outside the Party, while the left

makes up about 2) per cent, and the Right about 1, 3, 5 or upto 10 per cent, as the case may be

In recent days the Rightists in the democratic parties and institutions of higher education have shown themselves to be most determined and most rabid They think the middle elements are on their side and will not follow the lead of the Communist Party, but this is actually a pipe dream Some of the middle elements are wavering, may swing either left or right and, in the face of the current spate of wild attacks by the Rightists, may want to keep mum and wait and see To date, the Rightist have yet to reach the climax of their attack, and they are going at it in high spirits Rightists, both inside and outside the Party, know nothing about dialectics things turn into their opposites when they reach the extreme We shall let the Rightists run amuk for a time and let them reach their climax The more they run amuck, the better for us Some say they are afraid of being hooked like a fish, and others say they are afraid of being lured in deep, rounded up and annihilated Now that large numbers of fish have come to the surface of themselves, there is no need to bait the hook They are no ordinary fish, but more likely man eating sharks with sharp teeth it is these sharks whose fins people eat Our struggle with the Rightists is centred on winning over the middle elements, who can be won over to our side The Rightists' pledge of support to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the People's Government, to socialism and to the leadership of the Communist Party is all a sham, and on no account should any credence be given it This holds true for all Rightists, whether in the democratic parties, in the fields of education, literature and art, the press, science and technology or in industrial and commercial circles There are two kinds of people who are most determined the Left and the Right Both are trying to win over the middle elements and gain the leadership over them The Rightists are trying to seize first a part and then the whole To begin with, they are out to gain leadership in the press, education, literature and art, and science and technology They know that in these fields the Communists are not as

strong as they are which is actually the case They are 'national treasures", not to be rubbed the wrong way The movement against the "three evils", the elimination of counter revolutionaries and the ideological remoulding in past years how outrageous and what impudence ! They also know that many college students come from landlord, rich peasant or bourgeois families and believe these people will rise at their call This likelihood exists for that section of the student body with Right deviationist ideas But to assume it is true of most students is sheer fantasy There are also indications that the Rightists in press circles are instigating the worker and peasant masses to oppose the government

Some people are against the pinning of political laoels, but only when it is they who are being labelled by the Communist Party But they themselves feel free to slap labels on Communists and on the Left and middle elements in the democratic parties and in all walks of life What a rash of labels tossed out by the Rightists has found its way into the press in the last few months ! The middle elements are sincere in their opposition to labelling All the inappropriate labels we pinned on the middle elements in the past should be removed and indiscriminate labelling should be avoided in the future If injustices were really done to certain people, no matter who, in the movement against the "three evils', in the elimination of counter revolutionaries and in the ideological remoulding, they should be publicly corrected But labelling the Rightists is a different matter Even so, the cap must fit and only confirmed Rightists should be labelled as such With few exceptions, the Rightists need not be publicly identified by name, but should be given some leeway so that it will be easier for them to compromise in appropriate circumstances The number of Rightists set above at 1,3,5 and upto 10 percent is only an estimate, and it may turn out to be larger or smaller Moreover, conditions vary in different units, and it is therefore essential to have conclusive evidence, adopt an objective approach and avoid excesses, for excesses are a mistake

The bourgeoisie and many of the intellectuals who formerly

served the old society are invariably stubborn in asserting themselves, invariably yearn for that old world of theirs and invariably find themselves somewhat out of their element in the new It will take quite a long time to remould them, and in the process crude methods should not be used On the other hand, we must take into account the fact that, compared with the early days of liberation, most of them have made considerable progress, and their criticisms of our work are mostly correct and must be accepted Only some of the criticisms are wrong and in such cases matters should be clarified It is in order for them to ask to be trusted and given authority commensurate with their positions, they must be trusted and given authority and responsibily Some of the criticisms made even by the Rightists are correct and should not be categorically rejected Their criticisms, wherever correct, should be accepted The Rightists are characterized by their Rightist political attitude The kind of co operation they maintain with us is co operation only in appearance and not in essence There is co-operation on some matters, but not on others There is co operation in normal circumstances, but when there is an opening which can be used, as at the present juncture, they don't really want any co operation They go back on their pledge to accept the leadership of the Communist Party and try to shake it off But without this leadership, it would be impossible to build socialism and our nation would be plunged into total disaster

In China, the bourgeois elements and the intellectuals who served the whole society number several million, and we need them to work for us, we must further improve our relations with them so that we can enable them to give better sevice to the cause of socialism and so that we can further remould them and help them gradually become part of the working class, thus transforming them into the opposite of what they are today Most of them are sure to reach this goal Remoulding involves both unity and struggle with struggle as th means to achieve unity which is the end Struggle is mutual, now is the time that many people are waging struggle against us The criticism made by most people are valid or essentially so, including the sharp criticisms by Professor Fu Ying of

Peking University, which have not been published in the press They are making their criticisms in the hope of improving relations with us, so these criticisms are well intentioned But the Rightists criticisms are usually malicious, because they are antagonistic Intentions, whether good or bad, are not a matter of guesswork, they can be perceived

The current criticism and rectification movement has been launched by the Communist Party As we expected and hoped, poisonous weeds have been growing side by side with fragrant flowers and ghosts and monsters appearing together with the unicorn and phoenix Anyway, good things outnumber bad Some say we are trying to catch big fish and we say we are digging up poisorous weeds which are only different ways of saying the same thing In order to achieve their end, the Rightists, who are anti Communists, are making a desperate attempt to stir up a typhoon above force in China strong enough to devastate crops and houses The more outrageous their conduct, the more quickly will they show themselves up as doing the opposite of co operating with the Communist Party and accepting its leadership, as they pretended in the past and the people will thus recognise them as nothing but a handful of ghosts and monsters opposed to the Communist Party and the people They will then end up by burying themselves Is there anything bad about that ?

There are two alternatives for the Rightists One is to keep their tails tucked between their legs and mend their ways The other is to go on making trouble aud court ruin Gentlemen Rightists, the choice is yours, the initiative (for a short time) is in your hands

In our country, there are several criteria by which to judge whether the bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals are politically honest or dishonest, good or bad The main thing is to see whether they really accept socialism and really accept the leadership of the Communist Party They agreed to both long ago, but now some want to go back on their word, and this will not do Once

they back out there is no place for them in the People's Republic of China Your ideas are those of the western world, (also known as the free world), you might as well go there

Why is such a torrent of reactionary, vicious statements being allowed to appear in the press ? To let the people have some idea of these poisonous weeds and noxious fumes so as to have them uprooted of dispelled

"Why didn't you say all this earlier ?" Didn't we ? Didn't we say long ago that all poisonous weeds must be uprooted ?

'You divide people into the Left the middle and the Right. Isn't that contrary to how things stand ?' wherever there are masses of people everywhere except deserts they are invariably divided into the Left, the middle and the Right, and this will be so ten thousand years hence Is that contrary to how things stand ? This division will serve as a guide for the masses to size up people and will make it easier to win over the middle elements and isolate the Rightists

"Why not win over the Rightists ?" We shall try But it won't be possible to win them over until they feel isolated How can they be amenable when they are riding their high horse and are so bent on destroying the Communist Party ? Isolation will cause a split, and we must bring about a split among the Rightists It has all along been our practice to divide people into the Left, middle and the Right, or in other words, progressive, middle of the road and backward , this is nothing new, only some people have a short memory

Are you going to 'fix' people with a vengeance ? It depends on how the Rightist gentlemen behave themselves Poisonous weeds are to be uprooted and this means uprooting the ideological poisonous weeds To 'fix people is another matter No one will be 'fixed' unless he 'grossly violates the law' Then what is meant by 'gross violation of the law' ? It means serious damage to the interests of the state and the people as a result of the evil doer's

wilful actions despite repeated warnings As for people who commit ordinary errors, there is all the more reason to apply the principle of curing the sickness to save the patient This is the proper distinction to be observed both inside and outside the Party To "fix" also means to cure the sickness to save the patient

How long will it take the Party to accomplish the task of rectification ? Events are now moving very fast and the relations between the Party and the masses will rapidly improve Apparently, the task will take a few weeks in some places a few months in others and about a year in still others (for instance, the rural areas) But studying Marxism and raising the ideological level will take much longer

Our unity and struggle with the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals will go on for a long time When the rectification movement inside the Communist Party is basically over we shall suggest that the democratic parties and people in all walks of life carry out their own rectification, which will accelerate their progress and make it easier to isolate the handful of right wingers Now it is people outside the Party who are helping us in rectification Later on we shall help them in theirs This help is mutual, in the course of which what is evil will be done away with, that is, turned into its opposite, into what is good This is exactly what the people expect of us, and we ought to gratify their wishes

Antics of Revisionists And Neo Revisionists

By Shri Krishan Dev Sethi

As was expected, the spectacle of two party Congresses, the one organised by the Dangeite revisionist party at Bathinda, and the

other held by the neo revisionist "Marxist" Party at Jallundur, was accompanied by great fanfare Both the occasions, significantly received headline coverage in the press and sensational reportage in Radio broadcasts Both the parties on the conclusion of their meets, made announcements, impliedly creating an impression that they have found, at last, the desired path of revolution suited to Indian conditions, and the long awaited goal of on alternative to both the Congress and the Janata Party, that has eluded them till now, is in sight But the fact is, that both the parties so far as their ideolgy, politics, programme and policies are concerned, have made little advance from positions they held some times back These Congresses have confirmed their revisionist characterisation even more glaringly They have finally and irrevocably adopted bourgeois parliamentary path as a substitute to Marxism Leninism Bourgeois reformism as opposed to revolution, has become a way of life for them The have bidden farewell to proletarian internationalism The words "Dictatorship of the proletariat" have been effaced from their lexicon. It has become a rule than an exception for them to tail behind one bourgeois party or the other, instead of maintaining an independent initiative of the working class For all practical purposes, both these revisionist parties serve as competent tools to bring about deviation of the working people from revolution and revolutionary path, through various types of alterations in terminology

The ruling exploiting classes of India have been making strenuous efforts since long to effect formation of two bourgeois Parliamentary parties in this country, so that whenever people show signs of disalienation towards the ruling bourgeois party its counterpart in opposition can exploit and take full advantage of popular discontent ment , thus ensuring mutal transfer of power among parties of ruling classes themselves by rotation and leaving the people totally in capacitated to adopt a revolutionary path The formation of Janata Party through m rger of various parties and re invigoration of the Congress under Mrs Indira Gandhi s stewardship now, fully con forms to the wishes of the exploiting classes Further, it is also a

part of their overall scheme to keep those sections of public opinion, that still betray restiveness, under the mollifying influence of harm less and ineffective revisionist parties formed under the signboard of "Communism" to stall their advance towards revolutionary path Both the revisionist parties are accomplishing this task The bour geois press and the radio, for this very reason, accord extraordinary publicity to them and strive hard to project them as rightful heirs to the ideology of Communism and socialism In these circumstances, it is one thing to maintain contacts with the cadre of these parties in order to bring them to the right path, to organise united struggles on immediate problems of the people and formation of united fronts on the question of civil liberties and other related issues of public interests, but there is absolutely no room for any concession to their revisionist ideology and politics or any compromise on princi ples It is the sacred duty of all revolutionaries and genuine communists to expose and lay bare the revisionist ideologies of these revisionist parties.

It is a basic tenent of Marxist Leninist theory that the state power is always held by a particular class and the whole super structure is controlled by the ruling class Unless working class takes power in its own hands after dethrowning the exploiting classes from seats of power, there is no likelihood of formation of a workers' state This radical tansformation or revolution is not possible without a revolu tionary struggle But both the revisionist and socalled communist parties, having betrayed, in practice as well as in theory, the ideal of capturing state power by the working class and the revolu tionary struggle of the people, have become part and parcel of the bourgeois structure itself The resolutions passed in the Congresses of both these parties, therefore do not even cursorily refer to the conception of wresting power from exploiting classes nor they make any mention of revolutionary struggle Can any body claim to be a communist by negating the basic principles of Marxism Leninism ? This stand is not only a shameful betrayal of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat but also signifies a defeatist mentality of complete withdrawal from revolution and revolutionary struggle

According to Marxist Leninist concept, various forms of struggle can be adopted in different circumstances at a given time the parliamentary form of struggle being one of such methods But to consider parliamentary elections the only path to achieve the goal instead of one of the means to continue struggle is an outright treachery to the cause of Marxism Leninism and tantamounts to misguiding the working class The resolutions of both the parties leave not an iota of doubt as to their complete adherence to the parliamentary path and their desire to keep the toiling masses of India engaged in an unending game of illusion This serves the interests of exploiting classes and no revolutionary task is accomplished by it The two revisionist parties, by undertaking the task of serving the ruling classes through parliamentary illusions, have once again come forward to shoulder the criminal responsibility of stabbing the revolutionary struggle in the back

Both parties have rejected proletarian Internationalism The Dangeite party acts as an apperdage to the Soviet Social Imperialism and makes no bones about its anti China stance The so-called Marxist Party though apparently tries to make a show of neutrality in the International Communist movement by its precariously poised equidistarce to the U S S R and China both, but by describing the Soviet Social Imperialism as a Socialist State and by slandering the Communist party of China it becomes guilty of turning its back to the principle of preletarian internatioanlism No individual or a party can claim loyalty to the principle of proletarian internationalism by launching a slanderous campaign against China, which is the fountain head of world revolution There is only a thin veil that separates the two The Dangeite party has already been bestowed upon paternal affection by the U S S R bosses, whereas Marxist Party is making strenuous efforts to be blessed with such patronage When it succeeds in its efforts it will also unmask itself and come out openly in its true colours By rejecting the ideal of proletarian internationalism both these parties have, as natural consequence, ensnared themselves in the net of bourgeois Chauvinism, which is nothing short of betrayal of Communist movement

India is semi-colonial, semi feudal country Four great enemies of the people, (1) Soviet Social Imperialism (2) American Imperialism (3) Feudalism and (4) Comprador Capitalism obstruct its way to progress Only by removing these four huge mountains the working people of India can liberate themselves. Despite their communist labels the two revisionist parties vie with each other in their race of surrender and servility to the forces of status quo

The congresses of these two revisionist parties have spent most of their time in sorting out matters of their relationship to be forged with, and concretely defining the nature of attitudes to be taken about, the two major parties representing the exploiting classes namely, JANATA PARTY, AND CONGRESS (I) They concentrated their energies in making self critical appraisal of their mistakes in dealing with these bourgoeis parties in the past It becomes amply clear that both parties in their agenda gave top priority to the need of developing contacts and establishing links with the bourgeois parties Both revisionist parties wish to become a part of the establishment in the present set up in order to grab maximum concessions Feigning leftist postures, both want to usurp rightist concessions There should be no doubt now about their opportunistic designs and political deception

Both revisionst meets held discussions regarding their relationship with Indira Gandhi Without going into details as to what transpired in these Congresses, this is now an established fact that both have contributed their share in strengthening Indira Gandhi s position A glance at the recent past would suffice to substantiate this fact On the eve of the great' split in the Congress in 1969 Indira Gandhi's position had become extremely shaky She had lost absolute majority in Lok Sabha At this fateful hour both the revisionist parties whole heartedly carried out the rescue operation and supported Indira Government to prevent its downfall They rushed to save her Government and ensured its continuation Had they not voted Indira Gandhi's candidate V V Giri, he could not have been elected the President of the Country By supporting Giri, the twin revisionist parties not only gave a fresh lease of

life to Indira regime but provided enough respite to her authoritarianism to strike deeper roots Again in 1971 war, both these parties by taking chauvinist positions actively supported expansionism of Mrs Gandhi

It is true that Marxist Party as an after thought, meekly withdrew its support to Mrs Gandhi but its belated action could hardly make any dent on the situation Mrs Gandhi by then had mustered sufficient strength to stabilize her position The Dangeite Party, however, continued to support imposition of emergency, and later on unprecedented repression and onslaughts on civil liberties during that nightmarish period, till that time when at last people on the basis of their might removed Mrs Gandhi from power Marxist Party's role, too had remained highly dubious during this period It practically took no part in the struggle against Indira Gandhi's fascism It remained a silent spectator to horrible atrocities and repression In the name of self-criticism these two parties might find it easy to abdicate from the responsibilities of their various acts of ommissions and commissions, in bringing Indira Gandhi to power, lending a helping hand in prepetuating her rule and strengthening it They might have acquitted themselves of all blemishes by pleading innocense in their congresses but history will never condone them for their crimes against the Indian working classes Their faces blackened by historic judgement cannot be whitewashed

Their verbal platitudes cannot hide the fact that these revisionist parties have been reduced to mere appendages of bourgeois parties Marxist Party in the name of defending democracy, is tailing behind the Janata Party The Dangeite Party on the pretext of fighting against 'reaction' acts as the running dog of the Congress The claims of both these parties to present a left alternative, as apart from bourgeois rightist parties, are based on fraud, deceit and dishonesty Both strive for maximum share in establishment under present set up After bidding farewel to the ideals of revolution, revolutionary struggle, Marxism Leninism, proletarian Internationalism and dictatorship of the proletariat, these two Indian parties also,

like many other revisionist and neo revisionists parties of the world, have betrayed the toiling masses and are endevouring to share state power in partenership with traditional exploiting classes If C P I means 'Communist Party of Indira Gandhi its cognate C P M signifies Communist Party of Morarji Desai' It is the duty of all genuine communists and revolutionaries to continue an unrelented and constant struggle against vulgerization and falsification of Marxism Leninism by these revisionist renegades who are operating under the signboard of communism

Statement

The Provisional Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist Leninist) condemns the brutal attack on mine workers and their families of Ambara collieries in Chindwara district of Madhya Pradesh on 9th May 1978 Nearly 250 goondas led by a A I T U C leader Banerjee attacks the Ambare workers camp with deadly weapons killed Comrade D vnath and Srikisan and injured many others This incident took place with full knowledge and blessing of the police and local authorities

The incident shows that that the A I T U C goondas, the agents of Soviet Social Imperialism in India have resorted to violent attack on workers in the face of their growing isolation and the growing popularity of revolutionary cadres among the workers
The Provisional Central Committee dips its red banner in honour of the two martyred Comrades D vnath and Srikishan and pledge to carry on the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, social imperialism and their agents in India

The Provisional Central Committee demands

1) Immediate judicial probe into the incident
2) Immediate action be taken against A I T U C local secretary Banerjee and his hirelings
3) Immediate action be taken against the S A F Commander, the local police and authorities who backed the attack
4) Immediate release of all arrested and withdraw warrents against M P K M U workers
5) Remove S A F Camp from th area

Calcutta
25 5 78

Sd/ Santosh Rana,
For Provisional Central Committee
C. P. L. (M L)

Brutal Attack by C. P. I. Goondas On Chindwara Mine Workers

On the 9th May, 1978 at 7 a m, there was a repetion of the Emergency for the mine workers and their families of Ambara Colliery in Chindwara district of Madhya Pradesh This time under the Government of Janata Party at 7 a m on the 9th a gang of 250 goondas led by the local AITUC Secretary Banerjee, launched an unprovoked attack on the Ambara Workers Camp Armed with hatchets spears and swords and other lethal weapons, the goondas led by the CPI leader, entered the camp and mercilessly attack d the workers and their families Surprised by the sudden attack, the unarmed workers were only 15 in number and were no match for them Led by Banerjee, the leading union workers were the main targ ts of attack and 2 of our staunch comrades, Comrades D vnath and Srikishan feel victims to the knives of the goondas So cruel was the attack that Com Srikishan's hands and feet were cut off b fore he was killed Com D vnath s head was pierced with a spear He survived for over 12 hours before he succumbed to his injuries 3 others have been seriously injured

Th entire incid nt took place with full knowledge and blessings of th SAF polic and local authorities In fact the same gang had entered Sial the p evious day in full preparedn ss, armed with lethal w apons and tried to provoke a fight The workers sensing a conspira y refu ed to b provok d Th G neral Secretary of the indep ndent Madhya Pradesh Khadan Mazdoor Union, (Lal Jhanda) Com Nita Murthy, immediately intervened, and informed th lo al SAF commander The reply she got was 'Our duty is only to fire on th work rs The local polic authorities were there fore fully aware of the situation and purposely shut their eyes

This is th s cond tim that the heroic workers of Ambara Colliery have had to resist such organised violence against them During the Emergency in November, 1976 during the historic strike struggle of the Chindwara coal mine work rs 500 armed police had ent red Ambara Camp at 4 in the morning and started indiscriminate looting and assault, attacking men and women alike The 40 workers organised themselves alongwith the women and children to protect th mselves The unequal battle went on for 3 hours till the police were forced to withdraw when workers started arriving from other colliaries To date no action has been taken on those guilty in this incident

In this latest attack on the workers of Ambara colliary, not only has no action been taken on the goondas and on Banerjee, but 15 warrants have been issued on the MPKMU workers The General Secretary Com Nita Murthy was arrested when she took Com

Devnath to hospital On the other hand, the murderers are going about, scot free, with the full protection of the police, the INTUC and local Congress MLA's, and top state leaders of the CPI like Homi Daji and P K Thakur, who have rushed to the spot to defend their hirelings

This attack is clearly a desperate attempt by the CPI led AITUC and its local leader Banerjee, to stem the growing popularity of the MPKMU (Lal Jhanda) The union leadership, particularly Comrades Devnath and Srikishan had been consistently exposing the true nature of the CPI, its political bankruptcy and its betra yal of the working class Angered by the response of the workers, culminating a successful May day rally organised by MPKMU (Lal Jhanda), Banerjee and his hirelings had no alternative but to resort to their violent attack on the workers, in order to terrorize them.

The Regional Committee of the C P I (M L), Chattisgarh Mahakoshal area, Madhya Pradesh, strongly condemns this dastardly attack on the peaceful workers of Ambara Camp by the C P I hirelings, led by Banerjee and backed by the local police and State authorities

At the same time the Regional Committee dips its red banner in honour of the two martyred comrades Com Srikishan and Com Devnath, and pledge to carry on the revolutionary struggle parti cularly against the revisionist CPI against whom they had always fought determinedly, for which they finaly laid down their lives

The regional Committee demands (1) imm diate judicial prob into the incident (2) imm diate action be taken against AITUC Secretary Ban rjee and his hirelings (3) imm diate action be taken against the SAF Commandr, th lo al polic and authorities who provided active backing to tha attack, and threat ning witnesses so that th inquiry cannot take place (4) imm diate release of all those arrested, and withdrawal of p nding warrents against the MPKMU workers, and (5) removal of SAF camp from the area

The Regional Committee notes with concern that som sections of the Janata Party are giving their silent support to the CPI murderers by refusing to comm nt on the issue, and warns the Janata Party governm nt that if this situation continu s and no action is taken, they will b sol ly responsible for the consequ nces

Sd/ P K Murthy
For regional Committee C P I (M L)
Chattishgarh Mahakoshal Area,
Madhya Pradesh

Date
15 5 78

Decl. No. 26/78 Price : Rs. 2·00

Edited by-Santosh Rana and Published by him from 2, Kyd Street. Calcutta-700016, and Printed at Bharati Mudranalaya 40, M. G. Road, Calcutta-700009.